

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY AF/W:TWMSMITH:LFS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 257182

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:

SUBJECT: LIBERIAN FORMIN DENNIS' FORTHCOMING VISIT TO
CONAKRY

REFS: (A) MONROVIA 7363, (B) STATE 241583 (NOTAL),
(C) STATE 241423, (D) STATE 253377 (F) CONAKRY 2107

1. THE FOLLOWING IS IN RESPONSE

TO FORMIN DENNIS' QUESTIONS REPORTED PARAGRAPH 2, REF (A),
REGARDING WHAT, IF ANY, INFORMATION HE MAY PASS THE GOG.
WE DISCUSSED THIS POINT WITH AMBASSADOR CARTER IN
WASHINGTON. HE SHOULD REPLY TO DENNIS.
HE MAY DRAW ON PARAS 2 AND 3 BELOW, BUT SHOULD ASK
DENNIS TO RESTRICT THE REMARKS HE WILL MAKE TO THE
GUINEANS TO THOSE CONTAINED IN PARAS 4 AND 5.

2. THERE WERE THREE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN DENNIS AND
ACTING ASST SECRETARY SEELYE WHICH TOUCHED ON GUINEA,
IN ADDITION TO OTHER TOPICS. ON SEPTEMBER 22, AT A
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MEETING CHAIRED BY ACTING SECRETARY ROBINSON, (REF B),

GUINEA WAS ONLY MENTIONED. THE FOLLOWING DAY AT A MEETING BETWEEN DENNIS AND SEELYE (REF C), WE DISCUSSED GUINEA AT SOME LENGTH. DENNIS NOTED LIBERIA'S GOOD RELATIONS WITH GUINEA, ASKED ABOUT A POSSIBLE "GUINEAN

MILITARY BUILD-UP" AND COMMENTED THAT SEKOU TOURE'S WORST ENEMY WAS HIS ECONOMIC POLICY WHICH LIMITED GUINEA'S ABILITY TO EXPLOIT ITS OWN CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL, INCREASED DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE GUINEAN POPULATION AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE GUINEAN EXODUS TO GUINEA'S MORE DEVELOPMENT-ORIENTED NEIGHBORS. SEELYE SUMMARIZED THE PROBLEM CREATED FOR US BY THE GUINEANS ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO CUT OFF SOVIET SURVEILLANCE FLIGHTS; OUR SUBSEQUENT OFFER OF ADDITIONAL PL-480 COMMODITIES; THE GUINEAN EMPHASIS ON A SECURITY GUARANTEE FROM THE US; OUR NOTIFICATION TO GUINEA THAT WE WERE EXAMINING THIS AND OUR SURPRISE THAT THE FLIGHTS WERE RESUMED THE DAY AFTER THE PL-480 AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. SEELYE TOLD DENNIS OUR AMBASSADOR HAD PROTESTED, AND HAD NOTIFIED THE GOG THAT A TWO-MAN DELEGATION TO WASHINGTON TO IMPLEMENT THE PL-480 AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE RECEIVED FOR THE TIME BEING. ON OCTOBER 6, SEELYE AND DENNIS MET IN NEW YORK (REF D). SEELYE INFORMED DENNIS OF OUR CONCLUSION THAT GUINEA WAS NOT BUILDING UP ITS MILITARY, AND THAT GUINEA'S NEIGHBOR'S WERE NOT A CREDIBLE THREAT TO GUINEA. DENNIS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE PL-480 COULD BE REINSTATED. HE NOTED THAT IF NOT, TOURE WOULD FEEL "PRESSURED". HE IMPLIED THAT US INVESTMENTS IN GUINEA MIGHT SUFFER. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IF THE PL-480 WERE NOT REINSTATED, SEKOU TOURE MIGHT LINK TOLBERT'S STATE VISIT TO THE US AND CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT FORD AS SOMEHOW RELATED TO THE SUSPENSION. SEELYE REPLIED THAT THE PL-480 PROGRAM WAS ONLY SUSPENDED, NOT CUT OFF.

3. WE REGARD OUR EXCHANGES WITH DENNIS IN WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK AS PRIVILEGED DISCUSSIONS WITH A FRIEND OF LONG-STANDING WHOSE ADVICE WE VALUE. WE ARE DISCUSSING GUINEA WITH OTHER OF GUINEA'S NEIGHBORS BUT NOT IN SUCH A FRANK AND FORTHRIGHT WAY. WE WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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APPRECIATE IT IF DENNIS WOULD RESPECT THE CONFIDENCE WE HAVE PLACED IN HIM.

4. THE PROBLEM THAT HAS NOW ARISEN IN US-GUINEAN RELATIONS, IS THE RESULT OF OUR VIEW THAT GUINEA HAS, AT WORST, DELIBERATELY SOUGHT TO DECEIVE US, OR, AT BEST, HAS ALLOWED CIRCUMSTANCES OVER WHICH IT HAD CONTROL TO GIVE THE APPEARANCE OF A GUINEAN AFFRONT TO

THE US. WE HAVE HAD A PL-480 PROGRAM WITH GUINEA FOR THE PAST 15 YEARS. WE HAVE PROVIDED AN ANNUAL AVERAGE OF ABOUT FIVE MILLION DOLLARS OF PL-480 COMMODITIES TO GUINEA IN RECENT YEARS. GUINEA HAS CONSISTENTLY EMPHASIZED TO US THAT THESE SHIPMENTS KEEP THE GUINEAN PEOPLE FROM ACUTE HUNGER. WE WISH TO MAINTAIN A FRIENDLY

AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH GUINEA, AND FOR THIS REASON WELCOMED SEKOU TOURE'S MESSAGE TO FONMIN DENNIS OF SEPTEMBER 8, WHICH EXPRESSED FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS, AND CONFIDENCE IN, THE US. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, MADE IT CLEAR TO THE GUINEANS THAT WE REGARD THE CONTINUED USE OF CONAKRY BY RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AIRCRAFT DIRECTED AGAINST THE US AS INCONSISTENT WITH THEIR PROFESSIONS OF NONALIGNMENT. WE WERE THUS AT A LOSS TO UNDERSTAND WHY, WHEN WE SIGNED AN AGREEMENT TO PROVIDE 10,000 TONS OF RICE WITH GUINEA ON SEPTEMBER 22, TWO RUSSIAN RECONNAISSANCE PLANES WERE PERMITTED TO LAND IN CONAKRY WITHIN 24 HOURS. ONE OF THE MOST GRAPHIC PHRASES IN ENGLISH THAT DESCRIBES INGRATITUDE IS "TO BITE THE HAND THAT FEEDS ONE." THUS, WHILE WE WISH TO MAINTAIN CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH GUINEA, WE CANNOT OVERLOOK THE COINCIDENCE OF CIRCUMSTANCES OF SEPTEMBER 22 AND 23.

5. WE HAVE CONTINUED OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER WEST AFRICAN STATES REGARDING SEKOU TOURE'S CONCERNS FOR HIS SECURITY AND WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH THE GUINEAN GOVERNMENT WHEN OUR REVIEW OF THE SITUATION IS COMPLETED. KISSINGER

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